

Lasting impressions: ethnic food tour guides, body work, race and gender in southwestern Sydney, Australia

Introduction

In this paper we examine the racialised and gendered body work of guides leading ethnic food tours in southwestern Sydney, Australia. In so doing, we explore how bodies are differentiated within conditions of vulnerability caused by racism and the constraints of what Sara Ahmed calls ‘neoliberal intimacies’ (cited Antwi et al., 2013). To conceptualise body work, we draw on critical race theorists, critical because they problematise race as a foundational concept, seeing it as primarily material, political and cultural rather than as biological. Heralding from the civil rights movement and the work of North American black legal studies and feminist studies academics such as Derrick Bell (1995), and Kimberle Crenshaw (1995), critical race theory is now an established international interdisciplinary field which studies the production and effects of race-making and racism.

Critical race theorists vary considerably in their understanding of racialisation. In this paper, we draw on theorists who examine the materialisation of racialised and gendered bodies. These help us extend concepts of intimacy, surfaces, vulnerability and proximity: dominant themes in studies on body work (Cohen, 2007; McDowell, 2009; Twigg, Wolkowitz, Cohen and Nettleton, 2011; Wolkowitz, 2002, 2006). Our point of departure is how racism causes emotional, psychological, bodily, cultural and economic vulnerabilities which condition but do not determine body work (Ahmed, 2000; Lobo, 2014). Hence, colonial and racist pasts inflect racialised encounters, but scholars emphasise worker agency (Bunten, 2008, 2011) or unpredictability in racialised encounters even in the face of structural racism (Ahmed, 2000). Our paper contributes to the literature on body work in three core ways: first, adding original empirical work on ethnic tour guiding, second, by showing how body work is racialised and gendered, and finally, by examining the relations between forms of intimacy such as food and multicultural intimacies and the vulnerabilities of racialised bodies (Fortier, 2007; Lobo, 2014).

To make our argument, we draw on ethnographic research on ethnic food tours in Bankstown, southwestern Sydney. Bankstown is a neighbourhood subjected to structural racism and poverty, systematically disadvantaged for over thirty years

(Gwyther, 2008; Collins, 2009). Successive waves of migrants and refugees have settled in the area under traumatising circumstances, many from Vietnam and Lebanon. The target of racist and Islamophobic media constructions about 'ethnic' violent crime, the 'criminalised Arab' and 'ethnic' gangs, Bankstown is portrayed as a 'no-go' enclave for white Australians (Dreher, 2006; Poynting et al., 2004). Categories such as the 'Arab', 'Muslim', and 'Lebanese' are demonised in media reporting on Bankstown, particularly in relation to racialised masculinity, and there is regular discrimination and violence towards people from these backgrounds. Because of this racist Othering, southwestern Sydney is viewed by right-wing media commentators and politicians as Australian multiculturalism 'gone wrong' (Dreher, 2006). As a response, The Benevolent Society, a large community service organisation, established an ethnic food tour programme called *Taste Tours*, designed as a social enterprise with dual social and commercial goals: to change racist perceptions in the public imaginary, and generate income for local ethnic food businesses and create jobs for local residents.

This structural context conditions the body work of the guides. Tourists arrive with expectations and fantasies about Bankstown, ethnic food and racialised Others. Shaped by racist and colonial histories, Australian food culture, and exoticist tourist fantasies, these circulate via the culinary tourism websites, food and news media, and Australian multiculturalism (Gallegos and Newman, 1999; Flowers and Swan, 2015). For instance, Australian multiculturalism promotes the idea that eating the food of the Other marks the nation and individual eaters as tolerant, experimental, and cosmopolitan but ignores the histories of antagonism and racism, and contemporary social and political claims of migrants (Parker, 2000; Hage, 1997).

Even tourists to a domestic destination like southwestern Sydney draw from colonialist, exoticist and ethnic food tourism tropes, and expect that race and gender will be performed bodily according to pre-existing templates of 'what is recognizably ethnic' (Chow, 2002: 107; Bunten, 2008, 2011). The power of the 'tourist gaze' and labour market constraints mean that racially minoritised tour guides are expected to inhabit a friendly multicultural body and enable tourists to be happy in ways beyond the call of most service-encounter work (Urry, 1990). Whilst the guides have to mediate these expectations, fantasies and racist stereotypes in an abjected suburb, and reproduce happy multiculturalism at a time of intense Islamophobia and xenophobia in Australia, with its history of state-sanctioned racism and deep racial anxieties, at times they resist expectations by using exoticist tropes ironically (Flowers and Swan,

2015; Bunten, 2008, 2011). In this context, bodily capacities to be seen as an ideal friendly service worker, like a tourist guide, are unevenly distributed by race, class and gender, particularly for Muslim men and women (Tolia-Kelly, 2009).

Why *Taste Tours*?

Our research concentrated on Taste Tours because it extends our understandings of body work. Given that it is a tourist social enterprise, Taste Tours has the goals of income generation and anti-racism, which means the guides perform complicated body and intimacy work. As feminists have insisted for some time, tourism is an industry founded on embodiment and Othering (Johnston, 2001; Veijola, and Jokinen, 1994, 2008; Veijola, & Valtonen 2007). At the time of our research, Taste Tours had run for four years and had extensive positive media coverage. Popular with residents from others part of Sydney, in particular the more affluent and ‘white’ eastern and northern suburbs, tours typically last half a day, and are offered in multiple suburbs across southwestern Sydney. Tours are mainly multi-ethnic, with titles such as ‘World Explorer’ and ‘Shanghai to Saigon’, cost AUD\$90 per head and include visits to shops, cafés and restaurants from various racial and ethnic backgrounds. For example, in the case of Bankstown where we undertook our participant observation, a tour will include Vietnamese, Lebanese and Greek foods. During our research, the composition of the guides by gender, race and ethnicity varied, although there have always been more women than men. For example, of guides leading tours in 2013 there were eight women and no men; and in 2015, six women and one man. Local residents aged between 30 and 50, the guides are from non-Anglo-Australian ethnic backgrounds – Lebanese, Chinese, Greek, Egyptian, Thai, Canadian and Pakistani; some are second generation and some newly arrived. *Taste Tours* offers limited career opportunities because the guides are employed only on a casual, part-time basis, with tours running on weekends and some weekday evenings. Most guides undertake additional paid work alongside their guiding. We describe this as a statement of fact rather than as a criticism. We acknowledge the massive amount of effort by the *Taste Tours* management group to grow the business side of the enterprise. And we noted that the guides were given opportunities to be trained in public speaking and business skills at a local college and shadow other guides to learn the ropes when they first start.

Two guides typically take each tour. Their role is to prepare and lead the tour, liaising with businesses to agree what food to profile, welcoming visitors, marshalling them from business to business and providing information during the tour. They explained

to us that they work as guides for several reasons: it is flexible and suits their caring commitments; they liked to share stories and tips about food; and they wanted to change the white view of southwestern Sydney. Research shows that racially minoritised women and men from this area find gaining employment difficult because of state, educational, organisational and individual racisms. The guides have had varied careers with some returning to work after having children and others not able to continue their career as teachers or film-makers in Australia. Per tour, the rate of pay is \$250.

Taste Tours can be understood as a form of 'ethnic neighbourhood tourism' capitalising on the 'ethnic' or 'cultural' products of neighbourhoods as a form of urban regeneration (Santos, Belhassen & Caton 2008; Degen 2008). 'Touristified' ethnic neighbourhoods

are familiar to many... tourists and foreign visitors, usually as somewhat exotic and alien places that are quasi-foreign, where interesting food can be found, exotic people can be observed, and even a lurking danger...can be sensed (Conforti 1996: 831).

Scholars debate the effects of such tourism, with many concerned that touristic regeneration of racially stigmatised suburbs can amplify racial stereotypes circulating in the media and historical sources. Thus, they create a desirable version of the Other as exotic and Other, but safe and friendly, 'repackaging ethnicity' into an exotic and inviting commodity [within a discourse] celebratory of diversity and multiculturalism' (Santos, Belhassen and Caton 2008: 1003; Root, 1996). As Monica Degen (2008) emphasises, even when tourists are seeking a pleasurable experience of the Other, the sensory reality of different bodies, smells, touch and sounds can contrast with the represented sense of place and its sensuously constructed ambience. For other writers, the effects of ethnic and culinary tourism are more positive, enabling racialised minorities to set up businesses, resist racist stereotypes and transform the aesthetic tastes of dominant groups (Narayan, 1995; Ray, 2014).

Even without the challenges *Taste Tours* guides confront, scholarship shows how guiding work requires an extensive repertoire of skills: relationship-building with local businesses; information-giving and story-telling; being friendly, patient and deferent; and fostering conviviality (Cohen, 1985; MacDonald, 2006). As a form of tourism work, guiding work is complex, multifaceted and intricate, entailing a range of intellectual, manual, educational, emotional and social skills and practices, as we witnessed first-hand from observing and talking to the *Taste Tours* guides. Broadly speaking, they provide tourists with formal information about the suburb, and the businesses being visited; give factual and

entertaining information about food, eating, culture and ingredients; marshal the group from its meeting point to the variety of shops, bakeries, cafés and restaurants on the tour; answer individual and group queries on a range of topics; keep the group on time to the agenda; build the group ethos and conviviality; and research and liaise with each business visited.

Whilst there is work on how museum guides use bodily techniques (Best, 2012), studies of guides usually focus on story telling and information giving, and have not examined body work and yet, the body work as defined below, done by the guides we observed includes serving, cleaning, pointing, walking, story-telling, and performing. For this paper we confine our analysis to smiling, vocalisation and shepherding, examining how these are inflected by race and gender, given that these condition tourists' expectations and guides' performances.

On the *Taste Tours* website at the time we began our research, the ethnic women guides were positioned as housewives and mothers who cook for love (Flowers and Swan, forthcoming). In fact, most *Taste Tours* guides have university qualifications and some clearly demonstrated considerable professional pride not only in their knowledge of diverse ethnic foods but also their ability to lead and facilitate a group of tourists. By positioning them less as professionals and more as local residents, the website may have sought to create a sense of 'ethnic authenticity' for tourists but devalued the expertise and skilled work of the guides.

Body Work, Race and Intimacies

Summarising a range of studies, Debra Gimlin (2007) identifies four forms of 'body work' which are distinct but overlapping: workers labouring on their own bodies; performing paid work on the bodies of others; managing embodied emotional experience and display; and producing or modification of bodies through work. Theorists write about body work in the context of health, care, beauty and sex work, with much of the literature focused on the other's body as a site of labour involving intimacy, touch and close proximity (Wolkowitz, 2002, 2006; Kang, 2010; Twigg, Wolkowitz, Cohen, and Nettleton, 2011; Wolkowitz, Cohen, Sanders and Hardy 2013). In particular, such studies help us understand intimate relations in body work and

reveal the vulnerabilities of economic exploitation, social abjection, psychological harm, and bodily violence.

Yet only a little of this scholarship focuses on racialised body work encounters. Exceptions include Linda McDowell et al (2007), Milliann Kang (2010), Carol Wolkowitz (2014) and Kiran Mirchandani (2012) who analyse how racist assumptions about bodies affect workers in hotels, nail salons, care work, and call centres respectively. They emphasise the centrality of racialised fantasies about ideal bodies and hierarchies in service work – and how workers challenge and embody these. For example, Kang (2010) shows how white middle-class customers in Korean-owned nail salons in New York expect ‘white feeling rules’ - caring, attentive body work - reinforcing their sense of privilege.¹ Carol Wolkowitz (2014) emphasizes that ‘gender-inflected racist assumptions’ mean that forms of care and dirty work undertaken by migrants are woefully undervalued.

Ethnic food tourism trades on intimacies. For instance, it promises to reveal secrets to tourists, showing them what the Other ‘really’ eats (Chez, 2011). Thus on *Taste Tours*, the guides are encouraged to personalise their tours and share stories about their intimate lives such as their upbringing and family life. Moreover, food tourism is deeply embodied. Eating is an intimate activity involving salivating, gurgling, dribbling, tasting, sniffing, and the use of orifices such as mouths, nostrils, and anuses. Furthermore, tourists undertake ethnic tours to incorporate ‘the Other’ (hooks, 1992) and transform their subjectivity and bodies (Molz, 2007; Highmore, 2008). We show too how tours produce racialised difference through smell, sound, touch intimacies, or what Ahmed calls ‘impressions’ (2004b). To illuminate the range of racialised embodied interactions in the work of the guides on the tours, we conceptualise ‘body work’ in a broader way in line with Gimlin’s characterisation than the narrow definition used by Wolkowitz, Twigg and Cohen. This enables us to show how the guides labour on their own bodies; work on the bodies of the tourists; manage their own and the tourists’ embodied emotional experience; and deal with the toll that their guiding work takes on their bodies.

¹ In May 2015, *The New York Times* published a front-page expose of working conditions in nail salons in New York with the heading *Manicurists are routinely underpaid and exploited, and endure ethnic bias and other abuse* (Maslin-Nur (2105).

Thus, the tours can be understood as a form of 'multicultural intimacy', engineered events drawing on a discourse of getting close to the Other (Fortier, 2007). Although Annemarie Fortier critiques such practices, other theorists are more hopeful about mundane, everyday multicultural intimacies in public spaces (Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Wilson, 2011). For example, in her study of farmers' markets, Rachel Slocum (2008) argues that race emerges materially in situ through intimate encounters between 'phenotypically differentiated bodies', producing sensual spaces of embodied connection and public intimacy. Then there are critiques which refute claims like Slocum's that contact and proximity produce anti-racism (Ahmed, 2000; Valentine, 2008). For instance, Jessica Paddock (2010) argues that farmers' markets may be racially diverse, but also reproduce class.

Racialised Body Encounters

Having provided an introduction to *Taste Tours*, ethnic food tourism and intimacy, we summarise a range of theorists who write on race from different disciplinary backgrounds in order to ground our analysis and extend understandings of body work. We begin with David Parker's (2000) research in Chinese takeaways in the UK which, although not in tourist settings, offers important analysis on racialised food and body encounters, and extends Pierre Bourdieu's theory of embodiment to include racial inequalities through his concepts of 'diasporic habitus' and 'imperial capital'². At stake in Parker's study is how colonial power structures the bodily encounters between British Chinese workers and white British male customers over the takeaway counter: a 'contact zone' where British Chinese workers are sexually and racially harassed. Using ethnographic data, Parker stresses how race and power produce, and are produced, through routine bodily interactions in the service exchange structured by asymmetries of power. Hence workers enact an embodied deference: receptive, attentive, ready for orders. But this enacted embodied relationship is amplified by the 'deep-rooted inequalities of historical legacies' (2000: 74). The British Chinese workers serve mainly white, male, often not sober customers who as a result of 'the legacy of colonisation'

² Bourdieu has substantially influenced scholarship in the fields of body work and food studies. As Parker and others (Horvat, 2003; Reay, 2004) stress, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of habitus, central to many theories of body work, neglects to address the embodied experiences of racialised hierarchies, and hence in this paper, we draw more extensively on critical race theorists who examine the relations between racialisation and bodies.

carry imperial capital in their comportment. Thus, customers act in a 'superior manner' through their bearing. Inequalities become racially corporealised.

Whilst illuminating racialised and gendered food service work, the effect of Parker's analysis is that the workers' and customers' bodies seem given, and workers do not appear to resist or challenge the power dynamics. And yet in research on the service industry and tour guiding scholarship, researchers suggest that workers do respond to customers with agency and resistance (Bunten, 2008, 2010, 2013; Drew, 2011; Sturdy, Grugulis and Wilmott, 2001; Warhurst and Nickson, 2001). For example, Alexis Bunten in her extensive research with Native American guides, insists that the guides both 'enact and refute' tourists' stereotypes (2010: 53). She argues emphatically that tour guides are sophisticated workers who self-orientalise in order to survive economically. Although the guides cast themselves in ways which conform to tourist expectations and fantasies, they also resist these through correcting racist misconceptions and using humour and irony: thus not 'blindly accommodating tourist desires' (2008: 388). Simultaneously, they protect other versions of themselves outside of work. Rather than seeing tour guides as selling out or being exploited, she is keen to emphasise their agency within racist structures. Along similar lines, Emily Drew (2011) writes about neighbourhood tours designed and led by local guides and subsidised by the City of Chicago, which they use to challenge racist stereotypes and show tourists a politicised experience of culture and history of the local neighbourhood. Guides resist and interrupt essentialist, racist stereotypes in funded and politically positioned tourism, finding ways to return the gaze. Whilst providing important correctives to studies of tour guides, underlining agency, the research focuses on tourism ventures led by minoritised groups. *Taste Tours* is a white-run organisation. Moreover, neither Parker or Drew examine race, gender or bodies as materialised in spatial or sensory practices.

In contrast, Monica Degen (2008) examines how our senses and bodies mediate our experience of a sense of place and being with Others. Importantly, she does not romanticise senses or encounters with the Other. Senses are ideological, material and social and shaped by social relations of power. Different social groups reproduce different sensory practices and 'sensory contact' with each other. Moreover, senses are ambiguous and meanings and experiences of spaces and people change. Thus, the body can be 'constantly challenged by unexpected experiences...ephemeral sensuous arousals' (Degen 2008: 38). Social interactions framed through the senses can be pleasurable and anxiety provoking. Intimate contact with the other can feel fearful and invasive. Sensuous

proximity can mean sexual harassment or racism. Whilst drawing our attention to the ambiguity of sensory experiences of places, Degen does not focus on the racialisation of space or bodies although she mentions that gender and race influence how bodies sense and are sensed. Indeed, she states that we need more research on place, embodiment and race making, and that theories of embodiment which stress past experiences and memory.

Hence, we turn to scholarship on the materialisation of bodies, race and spaces (Ahmed, 2000, 2002, 2004a/b/c; Gunaratnam, 2009; Knowles, 2003; Lobo, 2014; Saldanha, 2007; Saldanha and Slocum, 2013). This work assumes that bodies do not pre-exist social and cultural contexts but are materialised through the repetition of norms, habits, embodiments and clothing. Race and racial difference are brought into being through social and cultural practices involving bodies and space. We are influenced particularly by Ahmed because of her interest in feminism and race, and her detailed analysis of racial encounters or 'inter-embodiment' of bodies materialised in relation to each other (2000). Thus, she argues that the very surface and boundaries of bodies and space are constituted through past histories and present contact. In her focus on the past, Ahmed brings to the fore an issue Degen argues has been missing from theories of embodiment. These ideas help to provide a framework to examine racialised and gendered intimacies in body work.

Like Parker, Ahmed argues that the colonial past inflects contact zones between dominant groups and racialised others. Ahmed's work interrogates how race, racial bodies and spaces are made through racialised emotions, contact and embodied dynamics. Difference is not 'something in the body of another...[but] happens in the encounter' (2000: 144). What she means by this is that we need to understand the terms with which we produce the idea of racial difference through modes of bodily encounters. To explain this process, Ahmed develops the concept of impressions. In an important challenge to some definitions of body work, she argues that impressions are bundles of sense perceptions, emotions and judgments which bring bodies and worlds into being, creating senses of borders and surfaces.

We need to remember the 'press' in an impression. It allows us to associate the experience of having an emotion with the very 'mark' left by the press of one surface upon another. So not only do I have an impression of others, but they also leave me with an impression; they impress me and impress upon me (2004b: 30)

Importantly then, bodies are not given but come to take shape in relation to Others by being impressed in various ways.

Through these processes, which cannot simply be understood as individual or inter-subjective, the surface and borders of bodies are materialised. For these ideas to make sense, we have to 'unlearn the assumption that the skin is simply already there' and see that it is felt in the event of being impressed upon in encounters with others (2004b: 29). The skin then is an important site because it not only seems to 'contain us' but is 'where others *impress* upon us' giving us a sense of bodily surface (2004b: 29). Skin is a living history of others (Ibid: 155). At the same time, there can be surprise: new impressions are created as we are pressed upon by the proximity of others.

Through the notion of impressions, touch, proximity, distance and movement – all important in literature on body work – become pivotal in understanding how contact shapes our bodily and our social space. Impressions produce and are produced by histories of association, intensity and emotions. For example,

a white racist subject who encounters a racial other may experience an intensity of emotions (fear, hate, disgust, pain). That intensification involves moving away from the body of the other, or moving towards that body in an act of violence, and then moving away (Ahmed, 2004b: 31).

Subjects' bodies move as a result of emotional impressions which can be repetitions of previous sensations and associations. Thus, we see some bodies as hateful, fearful, primitive etc. As a result, individual bodies and those of the Other materialise. But collective bodies – the we, the nation - are also produced, defining what we take to be inside and outside ourselves individually and socially. Impressions are not just individual but mediated by collective histories, including racism and colonialism. Through reading impressions on our bodies which we imagine are made by Others, we create borders between selves and others. These readings are based on histories of associations which have already made impressions upon our skin and bodies. In summary, how we have contact with Others produces the Other we encounter: the immigrant, mixed race couple, and dangerous Muslim. Hence, through the concept of impressions, Ahmed extends our understanding of bodies, racial difference and the senses, and show us how past associations produce our sense of our body, that of the Other and our space in intimate ways.

In bringing together insights from Parker, Degen and Ahmed on racialisation, bodies and space, one of the contributions of our research is to combine ideas in an original way to expand how body work can be understood and studied. Our study makes a second contribution to the literature review by providing empirical work on racialised body work in a concrete setting. The empirical work contributes at several levels. First, it provides data on how the tour guides deploy specific forms of body work in their guiding work. This in turn goes beyond current scholarship in that we show how racialised embodiment and space materialise through specific body work techniques. Together our theoretical and empirical work advance knowledge on how the four forms of body work discussed by Gimlin are not only racialised but a response to racism. Finally, our study refines methods and analytical frameworks for researching racialised body work.

Methodology

Since 2011, we have been working on a research project about ethnic food tourism in cities in Australia, Britain, USA, Canada, Turkey and China. In this paper, we focus on participant observation of tours, interviews and focus groups with guides, and documentary analysis we undertook between 2013 and 2015 in Bankstown. We began with meetings and interviews with key informants – the project manager and the lead guide - which provided background about the origins and aims of the tours, and allowed us to negotiate access to the tours and local businesses. We followed these with preliminary fieldwork which included three visits to Bankstown ‘hanging around’ soaking up the atmosphere, visiting shops and cafes, eating, drinking, shopping and taking photographs. On one visit, we interviewed the lead guide specifically about the itinerary for the tours and she introduced us to businesses covered on the tours. We used this immersive knowledge to prepare for our participant observation of the tours.

In Bankstown we observed four tours, each lasting six hours. On the tours we acted like participants; walking, eating, trying samples, shopping, photographing and conversing with the guides, participants and shopkeepers. Simultaneously, as researchers, we observed the guides in action, photographing them and the tourists, and paid attention to how the guides worked back- and front-stage with tourists, food spaces, and shopkeepers. We disclosed our research to guides and tourists but we took an ethical decision to minimise our intrusiveness by writing ‘scratch notes’ when we could, making more extensive field notes at the end of each tour. Some of the tourists

carried notebooks and made their own jottings and so our note-taking did not stand out.

We augmented the participant-observation of the tours with other methods. Thus, we conducted two formal interviews with the lead guide and had semi-formal research conversations with her on another five occasions. We also interviewed two restaurant and four shop managers. We ran three focus groups:

- In 2013 with a sample of four women guides aged between 30 and 50, a Greek Australian, an Egyptian Australian, a mainland Chinese and a Canadian Australian for 90 minutes after observing them on a training session;
- In 2013 with three women guides aged between 30 and 40, a mainland Chinese, a Canadian Australian and an Anglo Australian, for one hour in a restaurant straight after a tour;
- And in 2015, a two-hour focus group with one male and six female guides, aged between 30-50, including three Lebanese Australians, one Greek Australian, one Egyptian Australian, one Thai Australian and one Chinese Australian, six women and one man.

We also ran two focus groups for tourists, plus post-tour interviews with three others about their experiences. For this paper, we draw mainly on data from focus groups with guides, observational field notes and interviews with the lead guide.

Ethics and Researching the Other

Knotty ethical considerations underpin each stage of research, especially when researching with people from different race and class backgrounds. To start addressing these issues, we obtained ethics approval from our university and *Taste Tours* in relation to risk, harm and consent. As a result, guides and tourists were informed about their rights regarding voluntary participation and anonymity. Guides were informed about the aims of our study and potential risks involved of participation prior to the tours, and tourists at the start. We obtained consent from the guides and participants to observe, photograph and interview them.

But there are further complexities in researching people from different backgrounds. Indeed, a long line of scholars question the ethics of white researchers speaking on behalf of and for Others (Ahmed, 2000; Alcoff 1995; Spivak, 1988). Representations are forms of power and privileged locations are 'discursively dangerous' (Hinterberger 2013). Thus, researchers from dominant groups may reproduce inequalities in the research encounter and through representational practices. At the same time as problematising dominant researchers' researching the Other, Gayatri Spivak (1988) cautions against resorting to silence. Whilst all research objectifies to greater and lesser degrees (Acker, Barry and Esseveld, 1983), postcolonial philosophers insist that the problem of epistemic objectification is acute in research with racialised minoritised people. Measures can be taken, however, to mediate these relations and produce more just knowledge. For instance, for Rebecca Tuvel (2015), epistemic objectification refers to dominant researchers instrumentalising relations with minoritised participants, treating them as mere sources of information and objects of knowledge, denying their subjectivity. To be more epistemically just means treating participants with respect, as active epistemic agents who are informants not just sources of knowledge. Consequently, researchers must learn about the world of Others in conversation with them, questioning their own individual, disciplinary and institutional motivations and presuppositions. At the same time, a non-domineering and risk-free ethics towards, and equitable knowledge of, the Other is impossible and so researchers have to work within this impossibility and commit to collective action to challenge oppression (Spivak, 1988; Ahmed, 2002).

In relation to our own research, from the outset, we were clear that we would draw on etic categories, thus positioning us closer to 'critical' ethnography. We have intellectual and political interests in gender and race and as ethnographers who believe that these are 'significant matters which should be attended to', we chose a research site in which we expected these processes to be 'particularly salient' (Emerson et al., 1995: 134). We drew on principles in feminist and critical race scholarship which foreground the ethical responsibilities of not exploiting respondents and treating people as full informants. Whilst most researchers recognise that contradictions between researchers and those being researched cannot be completely resolved, we attempted to produce knowledge which challenges oppressive academic thinking (Acker, Barry and Esseveld, 1983; Skeggs, 1995). We see our work as part of, and contributing to, wider feminist and anti-racist struggles.

On an ongoing basis, we try to make sense of our power relations in relation to the guides, given we are middle-class academics – one of us a white British middle-aged woman and the other a Chinese–Australian middle-aged man - neither of whom live in southwestern Sydney and unlike the guides who have casual, part-time contracts, we have permanent, full-time employment. Thus whilst we may seek to improve material conditions for the guides and local residents, we are implicated in power relations and in the production of knowledge about Others. We tried to avoid as best we could objectifying them by treating the guides as active informants not simply as passive sources of information. For example, after one focus group guides said the website did not represent them as well as they wanted and so we fed this back to the organisation, and the information was changed. We discussed our analysis with the guides on two occasions, seeking their views on our draft findings and we invited the lead guide to a conference presentation to give us feedback. We prepared a written briefing for *Taste Tours* based on our research written in accessible language. In summary, we tried to treat the guides respectfully, listening to them carefully and producing knowledge that seemed to be helpful for them.

Guiding work

The guides are aware of the contradictions in their role: that they need to provide a friendly service and perform anti-racism. For example, in our focus groups and interviews, several guides described how they facilitated their tours in ways for white tourists to overcome their fears about crime in the neighbourhood and their embodied anxieties about trying ‘foreign food’, and educating them on a range of complex cultural and political issues. Hence, the guides labour to ensure the tourists have a good time whilst they are working in an austere funding and hostile anti-racist policy environment, colonial histories, service encounter and tourism conditions. Thus, they are very aware they working under the tourist gaze, and feeding the tourist mouth, both inflected by ‘oftentimes nostalgic, romanticizing, patronizing and colonialist overtones’ in a racially maligned suburb (Bunten, 2011: 53).

The power relations structuring the guides’ work is more complicated than other service work. The guides are residents of an area in the Sydney metropolitan region which has been racially stigmatised, class stereotyped and structurally disadvantaged. People from southwestern Sydney are constructed as ‘lowbrow, coarse and lacking education and

cultural refinement' and spatially, culturally and economically Other to wealthier and more privileged people from the north and east of Sydney (Gywther 2008). With most visitors being white, full-time professionals from affluent suburbs which have cultural cachet, the visitors have economic, symbolic and cultural power. Most of the guides are from racially minoritised backgrounds constructed in racist ways in the media and white imaginary and this racialisation is gendered. For example Australian-Asian women from different national backgrounds are stereotyped as hyper-feminine, submissive, introverted and sexually exotic (Matthews, 2002); and Australian Middle-Eastern women as Muslim (in fact, many Australian-Lebanese women are Christian), and under the thumb of their anti-modern, brutish Muslim husbands, fathers and brothers (Dreher, 2006). Hence, the guides' work is bound up with gendered histories of imperialism and colonialism, and touristic desires to eat the Other and their cheap, exotic food (Sheller 2003 cited Ahmed, 2000; hooks 1992; Parker 2000).

Given the tours run as a social enterprise pursuing economic and social goals, including changing the racist perception of the area means that there is an onus on the guides to provide a service to the local community in how they do their representational work of talking about the area and the food on the tours. Moreover, the guides' own biographies and cultural heritage and/or that of their neighbours and friends form part of the service in that the tours promote the consumption of culture. In this way the guides are cultural knowledge workers as well as service workers. It affects, too, how the guides are presented to tourists by their employers. For instance, in 2013, typical of multicultural not-for-profit organisations, the tour project webpage Othered the women guides as mothers and carers, in need of jobs and charity rather than as skilled workers, tourism professionals and knowledge workers with academic qualifications (Flowers and Swan, 2015). Since then, the website has been updated to professionalise the guides. Thus, there are unequal terms of exchange between the visitors and guides based on deep-rooted racist pasts, racialised, gendered and classed inequalities, and visitor fantasies and expectations which position them as inferior and Other, available for providing friendly cultural knowledge, intimate personal stories and the emotional labour of educating. As a result, impressions and emotions circulate and shape body work relations.

Body Work on the Tours

When asked in a focus group to talk about how they used their bodies in their guiding, several guides talked about their anxieties standing in front of and leading groups in bodily terms. They were keenly aware of tourist expectations that guides be knowledgeable and welcoming about the neighbourhoods in southwestern Sydney, and its cultures and food. But some racialised bodies are not necessarily seen as 'welcoming,' for example Muslim women, and many racialised gendered bodies are not seen as authoritative or knowledgeable, except as home cooks (Tolia-Kelly, 2009). One guide explained how she used her body to perform emotional labour to overcome her apprehension about her authority:

I think you use all those skills and tools without even realising that you're doing it. You will have your insecure moments. You think: 'Oh, what am doing here? Or who am I to be leading a group, what do I know?' You expand as you go...[asking yourself] where or not you stand up tall...

The guides discussed too how they vary their body posture and gestures according to the tour structure and dynamics with the tourists. As several guides explained, some tourists like to act as if they were a guide and show off their food or cultural knowledge. Some tourists don't listen and dominate air time. The guides have to find ways round these difficult behaviours in full view of the rest of the tourists whilst still maintaining convivial relations. As one guide explained: 'there's those moments where you feel you need to show a bit more presence and your body language, the way you present yourself totally changes.' The guides' emotional labour entails reading the tourists and the 'tone of the group' to work out how to be a good guide for them. As one said: 'if you find they're not interested, stop talking about it'. Some tourists are more interested in food and others in cultural aspects. Hence, the guides used their skills to read the tourists' bodies to see who might not be enjoying themselves and perform interactional work to find out how people are feeling. The tourists vary in their responses to and treatment of the guides. On some tours the guides felt the tourists were not interested in them or the local culture, but just on being together.

'They just don't care', said one guide. The guides found ways to have a more 'hands-off' style whilst still giving the tourists a good time. Like the North American guides Bunten (2008) and Drew (2011) researched, the Bankstown guides sometimes 'othered' the tourists, infantilising them. 'It's like having a six-year-old with you but they're not chucking a tantrum,' said one guide. 'Oh they could,' added another.

We now provide three specific vignettes in order to freeze-frame certain aspects of body work for closer analysis of the effects of racialised and gendered impressions. To do this, we draw on direct quotes and summaries from our focus groups and interviews, and extended field notes presented as 'excerpts' to separate out our data from our commentary (Emerson et al, 2001). We have chosen the work of smiling, vocalisation and shepherding because tour guiding literature sees these activities as pivotal but ignores their racialised and embodied dimensions.

The Smiling Body

Smiling is the heart of service work (Veijola and Valtonen, 2007). Tourism workers endure smiling for long periods of time whilst being subject to the tourist gaze, and continue to do so in the face of rude customers, at the same time, disguising their own feelings (Larsen and Urry, 2011). As Claudio Minca writes, 'brochures promising cultural travel experiences in faraway lands' are often filled with 'ever-smiling locals' (2011: 28). Since Arlie Hochschild's seminal work (1983) on the emotional labour of cabin crew, smiling has been written about as a stressful body technique. In essence, smiling is a culturally feminised expression, exhibiting the 'will to please' (Veijola and Valtonen, 2007): workers accepting they are 'inferior' to the guest (Larsen and Urry, 2011). Smiling under service work conditions requires skills in expression, acting and the suppression of feelings (Larsen and Urry, 2011). Research stresses that smiling as a work technique takes its toll short term and longer term, bodily and emotionally, particularly given that smiling workers' performances of authenticity are under close scrutiny by customers and managers. Theorists, however, rarely discuss smiling, and its surveillance, in relation to race or racism (Authors 2015). And yet, smiling represents a more complex 'feeling rule' for racialised minorities both in terms of how racialised smiling is seen and performed in the context of racism and oppression (Kang, 2010).

Smiling as a form of body work is more complex than might be imagined. As Soile Veijola and Anu Valtonen argue, smiling involves a 'convinced and convincing body that relates to another person: it is an embodied display and act of amiable hospitality. It lingers in voice, gestures and bodily positions, not only on the lips' (2007: 21). On the tours, we saw the guides deploy smiling bodies on many occasions in different ways. A critical smiling moment is at the start of the tour, when the guides smile broadly with

their face, gestures, postures and voice, producing themselves as a 'welcoming body' so that the group of tourists feels cared for emotionally, socially and physically in a space marked as abject, criminalised and other (Wise, 2005: 175).

Another important smiling moment is when guides encourage tourists to try different foods. The guides see this as skilled work and take pride in choosing for tourists a selection of foods that they won't have tried before, enabling people who are reticent to sample the foods. The guides discussed how tourists were not always as open to trying new foods as they might have imagined. Some were perplexed that tourists on an ethnic food tour didn't like, for example, garlic and chilli. In the focus group, the guides swapped stories about how they encourage tourists to try foods they say they don't like. Typically, these include: Vietnamese avocado milkshake, Ayran salty yoghurt drink, and okra. The guides deploy various strategies including telling personal stories, cajoling, using humour and doing associated body work to persuade tourists to try foods. One guide described in detail how he influenced a woman to try Lebanese charcoal chicken with garlic sauce even after she said 'I don't eat anything with garlic.' The guide showed how he pulled an appealing facial expression, slightly flirtatious, gesturing with his hands and smiling warmly to encourage her. We observed how the guides used a whole range of warm, unthreatening, and deferent-seeming smiles to 'hostess' (Veijola and Jokinen 2008) the tourists around food.

In this next excerpt, we discuss such an example. This event took place early on in the tour when guides know their early responses set a tone for how the group feels about trying food. The tourists need to feel confident and comfortable and the guide's role is to encourage them to taste and buy food which also serves the interests of the businesses with whom guides have developed relationships.

On our first stop, we follow the Australian Lebanese guide as she strides towards the Middle-Eastern side of town towards an unprepossessing Lebanese Pizza café. The shop name is written in English and Arabic, with a sign to show they serve halal meat. We nudge ourselves into the small space, moving gingerly towards the café counter. Clean and plain wipe-down tables and chairs are on either side of us. The Australian-Lebanese owner gives us a big smile. A smell of cooked bread and spices hangs in the air. The café is hot and the oven has been working overtime. There is little energy from the tourists. We are not sure what's happening. Why are we eating pizza? Why is it such an unshowy café? Is this exotic? The guide fiddles with her microphone, whispering to the owner and then straightens her body upright, grins broadly to show that she is now guiding. She introduces the café owner. Wiping sweat off her face, she smiles, and explains that 'we are going to try cheesy pizza,

my favourite comfort food. The mix of haloumi and mozzarella will be nice and chewy.’ Steaming pizza slices are handed round, spicy, hot to bite, shiny with olive oil, in greaseproof paper. We are close together but try to change our bodies so they no longer face the same way, so that we can eat in our own tiny private spaces. We chew and swallow. The guide passes white cups round, keeping her eye on the flow of the cups. ‘This is what we Lebanese like to eat with our pizza,’ she shouts. ‘It’s called Ayran, a salty yoghurt drink. Very refreshing. It goes well with cheesy pizza.’ Some people pour a little out and then hold onto the cup, but drink no more. Someone takes their first sip, wrinkles up their face, and turns up their nose. It’s a face of disgust. The guide sees the face. She smiles, pauses and then laughs loudly; but not for long. She exclaims, ‘I can see you are not feeling it!’ She shrugs gently.

The guide’s body work involves responding to tourist’s bodily and intimate practices including drinking and eating. Indeed, disgust is profoundly embodied and expressed with characteristic facial movements. Noses wrinkle, mouths grimace, faces turn away, tongues protrude as if to let the bad taste into the air, and gagging sounds are made. Tourists expressed disgust several times on the tours: a nose wrinkle here, a quiet ‘yuk’ there, a moving away from certain foods or spaces, a mock poking out of the tongue, shared looks, and asking the guides in a scandalised way: ‘what is this’? And of course, disgusted bodily expressions are made by and make impressions.

Food disgust is a form of rejection. Theorists debate the extent to which food disgust is prompted by intrinsic material properties of smell, taste or even texture of foods versus how these are historically and culturally inflected (Donovan 2007 cited in Longhurst, Ho & Johnston, 2008). For example, in a discussion on the eating of jellied eels in the east end of London, Alex Rhys-Taylor (2013) argues against biological explanations of disgust and traces how specific and complex social histories and economic geographies over more than two hundred years have influenced British class-inflected attitudes towards eating eels. Hence, what is being rejected in being disgusted by food is not simply the biological or chemical properties of food but classed and racialised histories and associations.

If we return to ideas on racialised body impressions, food disgust produces bodily and social space. Thus, for Ahmed, it is not the food but the proximity of the food to body that makes the tourists feel disgusted. Disgust involves contact, proximity and distancing. Proximity to the disgusted object transforms the surface of the body of the disgusted tourist, causing their bodies ‘to “recoil” (2004c: 83). Their disgust of Ayran, Vietnamese milk shake, and okra is based on real or imagined contact between the

surfaces of bodies and objects. There is a 'double movement' to disgust: bringing the tourists' body close to the food and then pulling away once the proximity to the food is found to be disgusting (ibid). The object of disgust seems to come too close, invading their bodily space. Disgust is 'not just about gut feelings but mediated by ideas that are already implicated in the very impressions we make of others and the way those impressions surface as bodies' (Ahmed, 2004c: 83). What we take to be disgusting has a history and is affected by questions of familiarity and strangeness, which produce forms of contact between surfaces of bodies and objects. Ayran, okra, garlic, chilli, and avocado milkshake are not inherently disgusting. They taste bad only in the mouth of certain eaters like the tourists.

The guides try to understand why some tourists don't attempt to taste Ayran and others try it but don't like it: why as one of the guides expressed it, they find it confronting. One suggested it is in the tourists' minds, a mental response. Another built on this and said, 'I think yoghurt is associated with sweetness or dessert in western culture. And not savoury. It is because of being salty and tart and sour.' But they remain confused: 'Yet it's so close to white food so I find it surprising that everybody was kind of going [non-verbal expression of disgust]'. She jokes that for white people, 'the yoghurt drink, like it was the worst thing. It's worse than sheep's head' at which the rest of the guides in the focus group laughed.

Food is a powerful object of disgust because it is taken into the body, meaning we figuratively and literally ingest Otherness (Longhurst, Ho and Johnston, 2008). Through our orifices, we open ourselves up, making our bodily integrity vulnerable, particularly in relation to the Other. Indeed, taste is intimate (Probyn, 2012). Hence, disgust 'works to push away others, and in the process, establish one's own identity as non-disgusting' (Lawler, 2008: 141). As William Miller writes:

Disgust...recognizes and maintains difference. Disgust helps define boundaries between us and them, me and you. It helps prevent our way from being subsumed into their way (2009: 50 cited in Lawler 2008: 140).

This vignette of *Taste Tours* shows how even 'food adventurers' keen to eat the Other have limits to how much difference they can tolerate (Heldke, 2003). Whilst they may be open when they book the tours, the reality of Bankstown, racialised bodies and space, and sensory impressions may change this (Degen, 2008). Sometimes that difference is too close for comfort; even when it is the Other's comfort food.

In the inter-embodied dynamics, the guides' body is impressed upon by the disgusted tourist bodies and past histories. The tourists do not always hide their disgust and often it is performed for others to see. With loud, insistent voices, tourists say, 'I don't like that' in a way that wouldn't be done in other service encounters. The guides' bodies, cannot recoil away from the disgusted body of the tourist but must perform an impression of smiling, and do it convincingly. As theorists note, doing this repeatedly on the tours, and in your life, shape your face, body and space (Parker, 2000; Ahmed, 2000).

Furthermore, disgust towards the Other's food and their strange eating are part of a dominant racial construction in Australia and elsewhere (Han, 2007; Cover, 2011). Thus, sensuous multiculturalism may bring us new recipes, flavours and restaurants but smelly multiculturalism stinks of foreignness. Many racially minoritised migrants remember with poignancy, shame, humiliation and frustration that their foods have been seen by white people as Other – smelly, inedible, unpalatable – which condenses their feelings of not belonging (Cover, 2011; Han 2007).

Thus, we stress that for racially minoritised guides smiling is not the same as white service workers smiling. The capacity to be seen as friendly is racially and unevenly distributed. For instance, racialised bodies such as those belonging to Muslims are marked as sources of fear and hate (Tolia-Kelly, 2009; Ahmed, 2004c). Secondly, there is a history of expectations that migrants or 'natives' and especially women will smile. Using the term the 'curse of the smile', Ien Ang (2000) discuss how smiling Asian women have been used as 'pet people' in Australia to represent happy multiculturalism. As Irvin Painter puts it, 'many many white people want their black people to be unfailingly sweet-tempered and smiling, which isn't even possible for people who are under inspection all of the time' (cited by Swan, 2010). Thirdly, feeling rules shape how racialised minorities are expected to express emotion in relation to white people, making them feel good (Froyum, 2012; Kang, 2010; Mirchandani, 2012). Moreover, racialised men and women are expected to show 'extraordinary emotional restraint' in the face of racism and discrimination (Froyum, 2012; Mirchandani, 2012). In this way, body work of smiling, and in the face of bodily disgust, produces racialised and gendered bodies, service encounters based on intimacy and sensory, bodily effects for guides and tourists.

The Tourist's Ear

In this next section, we shift our discussion of away from the guides' smiling mouth and the eating tourist mouth and towards a different form of orality: the guides' voice (Blackman 2008). We call the section the tourist's ear as a counterpoint to the highly influential concept of the tourist gaze, first coined by John Urry (1990) to explain power relations in sight-seeing, to examine tourism as an 'aural encounter' (Alderman and Arnold Modlin Jr. 2015). Researchers on tour guiding see storytelling and information-giving as core activities but despite a turn to performance in tourism studies (Edensor, 2000), the bodily and vocal performance of guides have been neglected (Cohen, 1985; Salazar, 2010).

Researchers are beginning to study the use of the voice in racialised gendered work. For example, Kiran Mirchandani (2012) shows how Indian call-centre workers use their voices to transmit a sense of the 'bodily disposition' of the ideal deferent service worker who is westernised, helpful and empathetic, against a backdrop of racism and neo-colonialism. Derek Alderman and E. Arnold Modlin Jr. (2015) highlight how the race politics of racialised voices affects tourists' ability to listen to anti-racist history in slave plantation museums. This work does not, however, attend to the sonic materiality of voice. In contrast, sound theorists underline how sound is embodied and material: a voice vibrates, giving presence to a body, circulating outside of the speaking body and weaving between bodies (Schlichter, 2011). Producing voice is a physical process of making sound waves which then vibrate in and impress on the ears and bodies of listeners, with strong voices palpable and reverberating (Neumark, 2010; Schlichter, 2011). Moreover, pace, accent and dialect and aural architectures affect how we listen (LaBelle, 2010; Kanngieser, 2012). Voice is not only marked by, but enacts race and gender. Voices are visually, as much as acoustically, seen as 'evidence' of race in body work because of circulating racialised schemas of bodies (Eidsheim, 2011). Vocal dimensions help make meaning, some of which - pitch, breathiness and prosody - are clearly gendered and racialised (van Leeuwen, 1999). Thus, sound and speech affect our listening, our bodies, our relations with each other and produce space, power, race and gender (Degen, 2008). We can see that vocalisation is a complex and neglected form of body work which can make and circulate gendered, racialised and bodily impressions.

When we asked the guides how they used their voices in their work, they were able to explain in quite clear and nuanced ways. Some of their discussion was about the pragmatic issue of projecting their voices so that groups could hear them, particularly larger groups or in noisy places. The guides were divided on the use of a microphone to help them. One guide liked the microphone as her voice gets tired and 'you have to save your voice', revealing the toll of guiding work on voices. Related to this was getting the tourists to listen: several guides explained that using a microphone meant that 'they pay more attention'. The guides described how this wasn't just an issue of noise but of authority: as one guide puts it: 'Believe me, when you have microphone, when you start to talk...everyone listens to you.' One of them explains: 'You have to give the voice that you are here the leader. You have to lead them around. They wouldn't mind: they are coming into the tour expecting you to lead them around'.

The guides also saw quieter vocalisation as a tool of cultural and political sensitivity. The microphone for two guides got in the way of doing this as it was 'invasive' and 'disruptive' for non-tourists. As one explained: 'I feel like not everyone wants to hear about what's happening with us'. The guides described how they needed to be careful for fear of provoking offence, about what they said out loud in public about food, religion and ethnicity, and in particular, longstanding military conflict such as between Israel and neighbouring countries. As one put it, 'Australia is a home for refugees. Minorities are coming to Australia from conflicts'. She continued to explain:

If I'm talking about Lebanese culture...some people ask me about the divide between the religious or different sects. I wouldn't like to talk about it very loudly to not offend maybe customers that are present. So the voice is a tool, not only for loud voice but also to control it. That's why the mike didn't suit me, I think.

The guides reflected too on using the tone and volume of their voices to create intimate atmospheres for the tour. They described how the microphone obliterated their careful vocalisation and the effects they wanted to create: 'You can't really change the tone, the intonation. I don't want the microphone because I want to be able to use my voice and the nuances'. She elaborated: 'I think it's more intimate without [it]. It's more personal'. Another added, 'It makes it more cosy when you're talking to them'. Hence, they were aware of sound intimacies. As one of the guides explained:

Sometimes you want to put your voice down. You want them to come closer to you...And you don't want to make it loud. Because you're telling them a bit sensitive. Maybe make them feel it's a

secret... We play on those things. We play cheeky. 'I'm telling you something that no one knows about'.

These sound intimacies were refracted through racialised and gendered assumptions in ethnic food tourism that women hold onto traditional family ethnic food secrets, and about which the guides are canny.

We provide a more extended example here from our field notes of a Chinese woman guide telling us supposed secrets about the ingredient red dates in an Asian supermarket. Her role involved encouraging tourists to try and buy them. She migrated from mainland China eight years ago, has completed two Masters degrees in Australia, and exuded confidence both on- and off-stage through her body language and voice tone. This data highlights the intersectionality of body work and how race works differently in bodily impressions.

At our third stop at the Asian supermarket, she finds a packet of red dates with Chinese labelling. She brandishes them excitedly, bringing them to everyone's attention as if she had found a hidden treasure. We strain to see what she is holding up to show us. She tells us that these are the 'king of fruit'. She is now in prime position at the front of a huddle of tourists. She speaks enthusiastically with vim and cadence in her voice. Her speech is marked by a strong but clearly understandable Chinese accent, and she enunciates phrases with emphasis. As she talks, she looks round at her audience to keep their attention.

These [red dates] were exclusive to queens and princesses. They are very special. But now we ordinary people can eat them. In the old days in China the emperor sent one of his people to find anti-ageing products for the queens and princesses. He happens upon a village ...All the women had this beautiful youthful skin. He lived with the villagers for three months to discover their secret. He observed that they ate red dates everyday: in cakes, soups and rice. As a spice. Then the red dates were introduced to the imperial court and became exclusive for queens and princesses. 'These are very expensive,' she reminds us. 'But try it. They are good in particular for ladies,' she confides, 'good for menstruation periods, as they are rich in iron and replace lost blood. They are a superfood, packed with energy. They can be eaten raw, used to make drinks, as a spice in foods, and for facial masks.

The guide held the attention of the tourists as she projected her voice, clear, strong, evenly breathing. Towards the end of the story, her tempo sped up. The guide mobilised her throat, mouth, teeth, tongue, ribcage and lungs, tensing muscles to

project her voice above the hubbub of customers, workers, and radio. Her body work was skilled and complex, entailing the conscious and unconscious use of eye contact, gestures, stance and most vitally, her tempo, prosody (stress and intonation), pitch, breath, volume and timbre. The guide's vocalisation constituted part of her seductive self-orientalising work, enthusing the group to try and buy the dates.

Of significance for our discussion of the red dates is that the guide spoke with a mainland Chinese accent. All of the guides bar one, spoke with accents: Australian-Lebanese, southwestern Sydney accent, Lebanese, Australian-Greek, Thai, mainland Chinese-Mandarin. One guide felt that these accents added authenticity to the tours: 'I think our customers are really interested in our diversity and our real authentic self.' A critical way in which voices are racialised, and make impressions, is through the construction and reception of accents. Accent refers to the phonological pattern of speech, pronunciation, intonation and syllable stress related to national, ethnic, geographic and social backgrounds (Pensalfini, 2009). All speech is accented but some accents are seen as 'strong' or 'neutral' as a result of power relations and cultural formations. Indeed, accents are critical to the reproduction of stereotypes. Intensely stigmatised, Chinese accents are stereotyped in international and Australian popular culture, including in films, radio, cartoons and voice-overs, with women's accents feminised, orientalised and exoticised (Pao, 2004).

These dynamics means that the tourist's ear will be impressed upon materially by the guides' vocalisation. As Yasmin Gunaratnam reminds us, 'to hear...is literally to be touched by others ...[an] intimacy with difference' (2008: 115). Thus, the Chinese guide's accent and vocalisation work to create an imaginary conduit to Other's bodies far away. Her accent gives an impression to the tourists that she is 'authentically Chinese', reinforced by an essentialist view that Chinese diaspora carry their 'Chineseness' with them (Parker, 2000): 'embody[ing] distance' (Ahmed, 2013).

Through her vocalisation and the content of the story, she creates a point of identification for the women tourists, invoking an idea of a 'pan-femininity' based on ideas about beauty and health (Stacey, 2000). More specifically, she appeals to a commonplace Western white fantasy about the ancient and secret wisdom of Oriental traditional beauty (Stacey, 2000). Her enticing performance transforms the tourists' disinterested glances into a 'shopping look' (Larsen and Urry, 2011), consuming the Other as a means to perform body work on themselves. In this way, the far-away

stranger who is already known through Orientalism becomes closer (Ahmed, 2013). In buying the dates, the tourist fantasies transmute into material practices of playing with femininity through imitation, to effect 'physical self-transformation in which self and other intersect in intimate ways' (Stacey, 1994: 167). Hence, racialised and gendered body work produces impressions which replay histories and fantasies and create bodily effects on the tourists.

Shepherding

In this final vignette, we focus on the guides' shepherding and marshalling body work. Shepherding refers to the work guides do in providing a safe and secure route, facilitating comfort, collecting stragglers, monitoring the pace of the group, and keeping the tourists to the timetable and itinerary (Cohen, 1985: 12). In bodily terms, shepherding involves gestures and bodily movements; especially walking in varying in tempo and intensity: for instance, marching, setting the pace, leading from the front, walking backwards turning round to check everyone is there, slowly stopping, moving from a stop to ambling to striding. These enable different forms of sociality and sociability on the tour (Edensor, 2000). Indeed, part of the structure of a tour is that it has a rhythm of a 'stop-start collective performance' involving 'timetabled activities, improvisations, selected route and potted narratives' (Edensor, 2000). Whilst Tim Edensor (2000) contributes to our understanding of guides' shepherding body work, he does not take into account the racial texture of place, and the impressions this produces on the tourists' and guides' bodies (Knowles, 2003; Authors, 2015). In contrast, we argue that the shepherding work of the guides is partly a response to racial inter-embodiment, touch and contact.

On the tours, the guides take tourists to different types of space in Saigon Place on the main shopping precinct of Bankstown. These include the fronts of shops, sequestered spaces at the back of shops and special reserved areas in cafes and restaurants. These can be understood respectively as 'enclavic' and 'heterogeneous' spaces: the former are 'purified spaces' designed for tourists: air-conditioned, sanitised, regimented, clean, quiet, uncluttered spaces like hotels or coaches, cutting tourists off from offensive smells, sights and sounds (Edensor, 2000). In enclavic space, there is a minimising of body contact, 'weakening the sense of tactile reality' (Sennett 1994 cited Edensor, 2000: 349) and a 'minimizing of sensory stimuli ...to pacify the bodies of tourists' (2000: 349). Heterogeneous spaces, Edensor argues, are usually found in non-Western countries, and have not been designed for tourists, although tourists may visit them. They are

unplanned, less controlled, more haphazard, with distractions, diversions, and an intensity of sensations and impressions. Walking itself may be less linear, more random, and involve negotiating obstacles, avoiding hassle and remaining alert. He writes:

The pedestrian is likely to enjoy a more vivid and varied sensual experience in heterogeneous space...The norms of pleasurably jostling in the crowd, and the different textures brushed against and underfoot, engender a haptic geography wherein there is continuous touching of others and weaving between and among bodies. The 'smellscape' of heterogeneous space are rich and varied. The jumbled mix of pungent aromas (sweet, sour, acrid, and savoury) produces intense 'olfactory geographies'. 'Soundscapes' produce a changing symphony of diverse pitches, volumes and tones. This sensory onslaught can facilitate a bodily awareness of diverse sensual sensations and stimulate unexpected flights of fancy and opportunities (Edensor, 2000: 340).

Reproducing a somewhat romanticised and masculinist sense of space, Edensor does not mention how the capacity to walk in this way is differentiated by gender, class, and race. Indeed, Ahmed (2006) stresses how space 'closes down', shrinking for racially minoritised people and white women. Moreover, Edensor does not theorise how racialised spaces, and bodily, sensory and spatial practices, may 'impress' on white bodies in ways which create fear as much as pleasure (Degen, 2008).

In focus groups and interviews, the guides repeatedly discussed how scared, worried and fearful tourists were when they came to southwestern suburbs of Sydney. Guides told us tourists had perceptions of Bankstown as being dangerous and criminal with tourists asking if it is safe enough for them to park their cars. Several tourists told us that they knew Bankstown had a 'bad image' and a couple said they were scared to come to southwestern Sydney on the train. As a result, the guides see an important part of their work as spatial and sensory, challenging people's stereotypes by enabling people to feel safe in public spaces. Guides said that 'We meet at train stations when people say they were scared of getting off' or 'we are getting people to walk in the streets and lanes'. Another added that tourists need guides 'to ease' them into the area. As one guide put it:

tourists come from 'insular peninsulas up there [laughs] North, East, South. I find a lot of people don't usually come out of their little five kilometre radius and it's like a big adventure to travel to these areas they've only heard bad things about. Yes, it's an eye-opener just to realise that there's more to the world' and she added: I think that why they're there because they do want to experience it but in a controlled - you know being hand-held along the way to be shown something different. Because you're probably a bit scared to venture on your own.

Not only are tourists apprehensive about coming to southwestern Sydney, the guides felt that they were also worried about going into the shops because they imagined shopkeepers wouldn't speak English. As one guide said: 'I knew someone who said "I'd never go shopping at Lakemba because they do not speak English and I wondered "how do you know they don't speak English if you have not been there?"'. Another noted that one tourist left the tour briefly to go into a shop and she congratulated her that she had 'the courage' to go into a shop by herself. Guides felt that tourists were also intimidated about going into shops as they didn't understand what many of the foods were.

Hence the guides are finely tuned to how the tourists feel on the tour and their responsibility for what one described as the 'setting the tone of the group'. One emphasized how the tourists relax at the end of the tour when they are seated having lunch.

It's just like having - me as a mother having young children you've got to constantly look out for and that's what I'm conscious of the whole time. Is everyone okay? Crossing the roads and because people tend to talk and straggle and you've got to - even if it's a small group you've got to make sure everyone's together and so you're constantly on the lookout. So you're on edge the whole time.

The guides see their role as making people feel different about the area and enabling them to meet locals and emphasising how friendly the area is.

The guides know that the tours are a balance between threatening and strange and exotic and interesting. We were told that the tours are 'never smooth sailing', particularly the corporate team building tours which are lucrative but also more difficult, as people attending do not always want to be on the tours or have more outspoken racist views. Guides report being very nervous the day before and just before the tours and exhausted after they end. One noted, 'So you've really got to talk yourself into that role and then once you're in it, yes, by the lunchtime you're just relieved that everyone's sitting in the spot, you're not having to constantly move'. Another guide adds, 'it is not about the walking; it is the emotional aspect'. One guide emphasized, 'So it's all orchestrating, it's very hard. So you're constantly thinking how to cope'.

The guides know that the tourists want a mediated adventure and the tourists are visiting a very different kind of space:

Visually it's a lot more vibrant than say your local shopping mall that smells of plastic. It's real it's real. ...So just visually it's more exotic, alive. Alive and exotic as opposed to the little - the strip shopping centres maybe where they come from are a bit more sedate and more refined.

The tourists want something a bit 'raw' and 'edgy,' as two of the guides explained. They see the sensory aspects of the tours as central to changing the tourists' racist feelings:

We want to make it as sensory for them as possible...guys have a sniff of this... It's a huge thing because it's all part of the memories, it's all part of what they extract from it. They don't just get things that they take with them, they get all of the senses combining together to create a picture of the area. So no, it's not just about what the media feeds you, it's about all these other things.

However, the guides select which shops to take tourists to and they enjoy taking tourists to a Middle Eastern grocery shop which has a large spice display. The lead guide built a good relationship with the owners and the male owner was happy to talk to the tourists.

Spices are always a feast for their senses. They are visually impressed in how they are displayed. The sight and smell and taste. Colour and smell excites people. They are like 'WOW'. We can smell and touch stuff. It's a big shop and everyone can fit everyone in.

The guides tell us that some shopkeepers are not welcoming and the shops less sensorially exciting and so they do not use these businesses on the tours if they can help it.

In our field notes, we noticed the main street, a heterogeneous space, was experienced as more 'foreign' and unsettling, evidenced in the tourists' embodiment and as a result of closer proximity to racialised bodies and intense contact with olfactory, aural and visual impressions. In Ahmed's terms, these further materialise bodily and social space.

As the visitors walk through the main street, signposted Saigon Place, they can smell wafts of a sweet and yeasty aroma from the Vietnamese and Chinese bakers; and the salty spicy roasted Chinese duck infused with soy sauce, ginger, garlic and star anise. Just past the narrow, dark, half-hidden alley to the fish market where the floor is being hosed down to clean it of ice and waste, a briny odour, like the smell of the sea lingers in the air. The tourists catch Asian pop music on tinny radios and televisions as they shuffle past the shops and cafes and overhear chattering, muttering, joking, bantering and conversing in Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese. Their eyes scan the street ahead, and racialised bodies coming towards them and avert quickly from the abundant trays of lumps of offal – hearts, necks, feet, kidneys, tripe, tongues – on display at several Asian butchers. Smelling the sweet sugary cane drinks on the stall next to the delicatessen, the tourists survey the range of brightly coloured liquids but turn

away quickly when their eyes alight on the bank of luminous, gelatinous jellies and dessert balls made from seaweed, taro, red and black beans.

As the visitors try to move down the street in a group, navigating their bodies past clothes racks, fruit and vegetable stalls, café tables and chairs straddling the pavement, Asian women get in their way as they stop to inspect the freshness of fruit and vegetables. Delivery-men unload goods on the pavement in front of the shops, wheeling heavy-laden trolleys in between the visitors. The movements and habits of racialized bodies interrupt the ability of the visitors to walk seamlessly through the street. Visitors do not understand signs, conversations and languages. They cannot tell what certain foods are, how much they cost, or where they come from and more than this, there are activities, habits, and social relationships they cannot comprehend.

The guides have to shepherd the tourists through the intensely racialised heterogeneous space to the less intense, enclavic space of the shops and cafes, and where the tourists can exercise their 'imperial capital' more easily (Parker, 2000). Critical race scholars argue that the 'racial texture of space' (Knowles, 2003) is produced through architecture, the senses and the embodied performance of race which produce the impressions, emotions, and 'intensities of inter-racial encounters' (Tolia-Kelly and Crang, 2010), shaped by an 'archive' of racist and colonial pasts active in the present. Thus, tourists experience the 'ethnic occupation,' of an area 'shown through the aesthetic markers of race such as the buildings, shops and houses; their use; and how they manifest the politics of the architecture, buildings and public space (Knowles, 2003: 88). Moreover, on the main street, the racial texture of the street is amplified by the embodiment and 'kinaesthetics' of race expressed in the presence and proximities of bodies; their style and clothing; their habits, gestures, postures; how they walk and talk; their manner of occupying or moving through space (Knowles, 2003) and sensory practices (Degen, 2008)

Hence, for the tourists, the main street in Bankstown becomes a racially 'viscous' space (Saldanha, 2007) in which racialised bodies move, talk, shop, smoke, eat and drink; and they have to find their way through the accumulated habits, pathways, activities and social relationships which are embedded in these (Knowles, 2003). Whilst there are racialised bodily and sensory encounters in the enclavic spaces in the shops and cafes, white people view racialised main streets as less friendly, 'unpredictable', 'uncivil' spaces because of their 'fears of the risks of uncontrolled encounters in public space' with racialised bodies (Jackson, 1999: 35). Visitors feel more unsettled on the street because through the intimacies and impressions of racialised signifiers, activities, smells, noises, and embodied practices, space becomes 'foreign for those whose lives are not expressed'

in them (Knowles, 2003: 88). Furthermore, in Bankstown, impressions and intensities of feelings in the racial encounters are inflected by the racist context, including how unsafe and unfriendly Bankstown is imagined to be.

The guides know that some tourists arrive with racist ideas about Bankstown. The guides, however, are not able to openly name the racism of tourists. They know that tourists can only take so much racial difference impressing intimately on their skins. As two of the guides explained, there are what they called 'pockets of space' where you can take the tourists and 'we know where the pockets are to take them'. The guides' body work involves mediating embodied space, sensory qualities and the rhythms of other bodies, helping tourists through the heterogeneous space and to the quiet, less intense spaces of the enclavic stops. Shepherding body work is a nuanced, sensitive balancing act of reading bodies and managing the contact zone of the street, sensory and spatial practices. On one hand, the guides enable the tourist to experience the Other in more sensory, intimate, embodied ways. At the same time, they are conscious of the risks: 'antagonisms and hostilities fuelled by difference in skin, body, dress, movement and activity' which rehearse past impressions, other faces, times and spaces (Knowles, 2003: 101; Ahmed, 2000).

Conclusion

In this paper, we argue that more attention needs to be given to racialisation in body work. As body work theorists note, body work often entails intimacies and vulnerabilities, and through our research on ethnic food tourism in a racistly stigmatised area, we contribute to studies on body work by extending how bodies, intimacy and vulnerability are conceptualised. In the paper, we stress that bodies need to be understood as materialising in body work through Ahmed's concepts of inter-embodiment and impressions. In particular, we argue that body work is often racialised and gendered intersectionally and brought into being through impressions associated with the body of the Other. Impressions are not just individual and in the moment, but collective and inflected by racist and colonial histories. Impressions make bodies and space. To make our argument, we contribute to current literature with original data which show body work in ethnic food tourism to include smiling, vocalisation and shepherding. These forms of body work, in which the guides work on their own bodies and those of the tourists, are not the only ones the guides perform but they enable us to foreground intimacy, vulnerability, race and

gender and how the latter intersect. Through this discussion, we also extend notions of intimacy in body work to show how food, multicultural tourism, smiling, voice, senses and space operate as forms of intimacy, contact and impressions.

We stress too the structural specificities of racialised and gendered vulnerabilities for the workers which impress their bodies and work. Hence the guides work under conditions of shame and exotism where Bankstown and its residents have been constructed as Other in gendered, racialised ways. The guides mediate these through using their own bodies and reading the tourists' bodies. These relations are inflected by racism, gendering and racialisation which require more emotional and bodily labour from the guides than is usual in service work. White people should not underestimate the harm caused by racism. Critical race theorists such as Ahmed, Parker and Lobo emphasise the vulnerabilities of racism on individuals and groups.

The tourists come to the tours for various reasons - to try new foods, to sample the ambience and residents of Bankstown, and sometimes at the insistence of their employer they participate in a corporate team-building event. In all cases, they seek to meet or consume the Other but they want a guide to help them. The guide offers a buffer. Hence, although tourists may wish to be open to racial difference, their bodies sometimes betray them. Smells, bodies, voices, noise can impress on them in ways that they may not expect or understand. The concept of visceral racism offers us a way to understand these processes. Social science (Hook, 2006) has begun to theorise racism as visceral, with visceral racism described as the subtle, felt and embodied materialisation of covert and overt individual and institutional racism. But the concept of impressions emphasises that visceral racism is not just individual and unmediated but related to past histories, relations with Others, and wider social and economic structures.

Racially minoritised workers are being asked to produce a welcoming, happy multicultural body against a backdrop of a history of racism, abjection and asymmetrical power relations. Indeed, through their complex, skilled body work, disadvantaged migrant women are performing multiculturalism work, using intimacy to transform white racism, and bodily and emotional interiorities. We would also like to note that the guides perform other kinds of body work such as serving and cleaning, and that in spite of the context, the guides report enjoying their work. As one guide said, 'being a *Taste Tours* food guide...has been an amazing thing'. Several report improved confidence and enhanced respect from family or friends because of the work they do, and most say they value the

project of transforming the perception of their neighbourhood. In spite of fear and apprehension, many tourists too say how much they have enjoyed the tours and indeed we witnessed moments of pleasurable embodiment of eating, trying new things, sensory enjoyment and being part of a group. It should also be noted that feeling a sense of danger and Otherness can be a form of touristic pleasure.

But the wider structural context means that the guides do their work of multicultural intimacy against a backdrop of a hostile policy and austere funding regime for anti-racist work, historical colonialism, and very present racism, Islamophobia and xenophobia. In southwestern Sydney, under the influence of intensifying neo-liberal policies where state-sponsorship for welfare services has declined and many people have been 'left to get on with it' (Gwyther, 2008). As part of neoliberalism and anti-multiculturalism, the state has withdrawn funding and support for grassroots-led anti-racist and multicultural initiatives. Hence, tourism has become seen as a way to regenerate depressed areas, and the body work of mainly racially minoritised women a means to counter racism through the intimacies and body work of food multiculturalism. It is not clear against this backdrop, and bodily impressions, whether the tourists are ready to enable the guides to perform more explicit anti-racist guiding work.

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